

With preceding

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SECOND LETTER

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDMUND BURKE, Esq.

ON THE

Subject of the EVIDENCE referred to in
the SECOND REPORT of the SELECT
COMMITTEE of the House of Com-
mons, appointed to enquire into the
State of Justice in the Provinces of
BENGAL, BAHAR, and ORISSA.

WITH A

Compleat Refutation of every Paragraph of the LETTER
of Mr. PHILIP FRANCIS, to the COURT of Di-
rectors of the EAST INDIA COMPANY, copied
from No. 7, of the Appendix to the said Report.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED IN THE YEAR M,DCC,LXXXII.

REPRINTED M,DCC,LXXXIII.

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SECOND LETTER



EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

SIR,

SINCE the publication of my Letter to you on the subject of the execution of Rumbold, I have been asked in what part of the former report of the Committee, it appeared, that it was by many persons at Birmingham, believed that the Rajah lost his life on political principles, for that it was not to be found in the former report, as related to the nation from the same.

SECOND LETTER

TO

EDMUND BURKE, Esq.

SIR,

SINCE the publication of my Letter to you, on the subject of the execution of Rajah Nundcomar, I have been asked in what part of the former report of the Committee, it appeared in evidence, that it was by many persons at Bengal, believed that the Rajah lost his life on political principles, for that it was not to be found in page 59 of the former report, as referred to in my quotation from the latter.

B

THIS

THIS information set me to examine the first report, and I find that the only parts in it where this circumstance is mentioned, is in page 57 and page 58, as printed by J. Evans, No. 32, Paternoster-Row.

THIS re-examination of the fact, and of the authority, hath opened a new scene of investigation, the developing of which, will shew very plainly on what slight grounds, and for what particular purpose the insinuations, have been taken up, and brought forward in the last report.

I HAVE been told, and otherways informed, that my eagerness to vindicate the Governor General of Bengal, together with the warmth of my temper, had hurried me into some personalities, which had obscured my agreement, and weakened it very much.

THIS remark, having its foundation in truth, has hurt me a good deal; not on account of the men themselves, but that a good cause should be injured by an injudicious advocate. But as I have yet abundant materials unapplied, I once more take the liberty to address you on the subject. By keeping to facts and argument, and leaving men to their own feelings, I hope to reclaim all the moderate to my side of the question.

THE

THE present report refers to the last for the evidence, which the Committee desires may be applied to, in justification of their new doctrine of policy. To that let us go, and fairly state the grounds they have gone upon, to the application of which I have so strongly objected.

THE causes of the trial, condemnation, and execution of the Rajah Nundcomar, being part of the duty of the Committee, it appears that seven different gentlemen were called before them to be examined on that head: the two first were Members of the Committee, Messrs. Rouse and Farret. Mr. Mills and Mr. Price, two very old Free Merchants, who had resided many years in Bengal. Mr. Baber, a Company's servant, and one of the provincial Revenue Chiefs; Major James Rennell, the Company's Surveyor General; and Captain Cowe, a military officer in the Company's army.

THE first six give their evidence clear and distinct, all agreeing in the same points, that the Rajah's suffering so ignominious a death, surprised the people much, as it was contrary to their ideas of justice, that a man of his rank and high cast of religion, should suffer capitally for what they deemed a venial offence. Not one single word is said about political influence, by any one of the first six gentlemen; nor does it appear that Captain Cowe had such an idea in his head, until it had been

introduced there by the novel and singular question, put to him by some one Member of the Committee.

THE fair way is to give his evidence at length, and to reason on the singularity of it afterwards.

I HAVE taken it from J. Evans's publication, page 57 and 58; it is as follows:

“CAPTAIN COWE being again examined by
 “your Committee, was asked whether he was at
 “Calcutta, at the time of the proceedings against
 “Nundcomar, and at the time of his execution?
 “said, he was, during the whole of the time.
 “Being asked, if any criminal prosecution had
 “been commenced against him, before that in-
 “dictment, for forgery? he said, none that he
 “had heard of. Being asked, what was the opi-
 “nion of the natives concerning that proceeding,
 “whether they thought it political, or done in the
 “ordinary course of justice? said, he believed,
 “there was a great diversity of opinions; that
 “many thought it was done from political mo-
 “tives; others, in the ordinary course of justice,
 “according to the laws of England. Being asked,
 “what was the character of the Rajah Nundcomar
 “among the natives? said, that he was considered
 “as a man of understanding, but much addicted

“ to litigation, and, in general, thought a design-
 “ ing, artful man; that he never heard any thing
 “ farther against his moral character. Being ask-
 “ ed, whether his prosecution did not give gene-
 “ ral satisfaction to the natives, as being the means
 “ of bringing to justice, a criminal, who had been
 “ a long time protected from it by his power and
 “ artifices? said, he never heard that it had given
 “ satisfaction, except to a few, who might have
 “ viewed it in a political light. Being asked,
 “ whether he had not heard, that the offence for
 “ which Nundcomar was tried, was committed se-
 “ veral years before the trial? he said, he always un-
 “ derstood it had been committed for many years
 “ before the trial. Being asked, if he had an op-
 “ portunity to make any observations concerning
 “ the execution of Nundcomar? said, he had;
 “ that he saw the whole, except the immediate act
 “ of execution. From the parapet of the new fort,
 “ not quite half a mile from the place of execution,
 “ there were eight or ten thousand people assem-
 “ bled; who, at the moment the Rajah was turned
 “ off, dispersed suddenly, crying ‘ Ah-baup-aree!’
 “ leaving nobody about the gallows but the sheriff
 “ and his attendants, and a few European spectators.
 “ He explains the term of Ah-baup-aree, to be an
 “ exclamation of the black people, upon the ap-
 “ pearance of any thing very alarming, and when
 “ they are in great pain: that they did not think
 “ he would be put to death till he was actually
 “ executed.

“ executed. That many of them even ran into
 “ the river, from the terror at seeing a Bramin exe-
 “ cuted in that ignominious manner. That the
 “ circumstance of his execution was received with
 “ great horror by all the natives, as well as most
 “ of the Europeans, who, in general, thought it a
 “ hard case. Being asked, if the natives, in ge-
 “ neral, were not satisfied with the introduction
 “ of the rigour of the English penal statute law,
 “ as tending to secure credit and fidelity in deal-
 “ ings? said, as far as he ever understood, quite
 “ the reverse. Then being asked, whether the
 “ equity and impartiality of the Supreme Court,
 “ in that business, did not strike forcibly upon
 “ the minds of the natives, and impress them
 “ with a strong idea of the wisdom and justice of
 “ the English laws, and a desire of having them
 “ extended for the general benefit? he informed
 “ your Committee, that it rather impressed them
 “ with an unfavourable idea of our justice and
 “ equity; and that he never heard they, by any
 “ means, wished to have them extended. Being
 “ asked, if the natives knew for what purpose the
 “ Supreme Court had been established? he said,
 “ he believed, at first, they did not properly un-
 “ derstand it, but that, by this time, they are per-
 “ fectly acquainted with the nature of its institu-
 “ tion. Being asked, if it was not generally given
 “ out, that this court was instituted for their pro-
 “ tection and their defence, against the abuses of
 “ European

"European authority? he said, it was; that he
 "remembered hearing Mr. Le Maitre, one of
 "the Judges from the Bench, express his sur-
 "prise, that so many people applied for redress to
 "the country courts, when they might depend on
 "as good justice or better, in the Supreme Court
 "of Judicature; and that these were his very
 "words. Being asked, if the natives considered
 "the proceedings against Nundcomar, and his
 "execution, as answering the ends of the insti-
 "tution of the court, in the protection of the
 "natives? he said, he did not believe they did.
 "Being asked, whether they did not consider the
 "execution, as having a tendency to encourage
 "them to prefer complaints against Europeans in
 "authority? he said, he believed not. Being
 "asked, whether an address to the Judges was
 "not signed by several of the natives, commend-
 "ing their conduct in the office, and particularly
 "dwelling upon the character of mercy? he said,
 "that he has seen an address from the Armenian
 "merchants, printed, which, he believes, was
 "given to the Judges. Being asked, whether that
 "address contradicted the sentiments of the na-
 "tives, which he had just now mentioned? he
 "said, it did. Then being asked, whether he
 "looked upon that address, or the conversation
 "he had heard, as must truly expressive of the
 "genuine sense of the natives? he said, he be-
 "lieved the conversation he had heard to be the
 "most

“ most expressive, and that the address does by
 “ no means express their sense. Being asked, if
 “ he recollected any instance of mercy, to which
 “ that address alluded? he said, none, except the
 “ release of the felons, and several who had been
 “ under sentence of death, in the prison at Cal-
 “ cutta, for capital offences. Then being asked,
 “ if any particular circumstances of hardship had
 “ been represented to the Judges? he said, he did
 “ not know that there had, before the arrival of
 “ the Judges. And being asked, whether an opi-
 “ nion had prevailed, that the construction or exe-
 “ cution of criminal law, had been severe and im-
 “ moderate? he said, he never had heard any such
 “ opinion.”

MESSRS. Rouse, Farrer, Mills, Price, and Ren-
 nell, had been examined before Captain Cowe;
 and Mr. Baber was examined after him; not one
 of the other gentlemen mentioned a syllable of po-
 licy, or hinted that such an idea had ever been
 conceived. Captain Cowe was going on in the
 same line, when he was asked by some one of the
 Gentlemen of the Committee, “ What was the
 “ opinion of the natives concerning that proceed-
 “ ing, whether they thought it political, or done
 “ in the ordinary course of justice?”

I HAVE read the whole report over and over, to
 find out, if it was possible, what could give cause
 for

for such a question; no such had been put to any one of the preceding five evidence, nor to the one which followed; and candour obliges me to conclude, that it was not the effect of design, but mere matter of accident. The answer goes to declare what was very true, that party divisions in the settlement, had begot different opinions in the inhabitants; but not the least inference can be drawn from Captain Cowe's evidence, that this supposed political interposition, applied to any particular description of men, either to the Judges, the Majority of the Civil Government, or to the Minority.

THE exclamation Au-baup-aree! and the saying the people run into the river, on the Rajah's being turned off, conveys improper notions to the mind of the reader, and in candour, they ought to have been explained: why the Gentlemen of the Committee, who understand the Hindoo manners and customs, did not do it, I will not trust myself to say, for fear I should again touch sore places; but the fact is as follows: had a calf been knocked on the head they would have done the same. The exclamation cannot be rendered into English, the idioms of the languages are so very different; but if an Hindoo was to see a house on fire, to receive a smart slap on the face, break a China bason, cut his finger, see two Europeans

ropeans boxing, or a sparrow shot, he would call out *Au-baup-aree !*

WHEN the Rajah was hanged, it was to them a very extraordinary sight, and it was natural for Hindoos to suppose, that it in some degree defiled them. The remedy was at hand; near to the gallows where the Rajah suffered, runs a branch of the river Ganges, the waters of which river, in the ideas of all the Hindoo nations, cleanse them from every kind of impurity. Had a common pickpocket suffered; had an European spit, by accident, on the outer edge of their outer garment; had they touched any dead animal, or fifty thousand other, the most trifling causes, would have induced them to go and purify themselves in the Ganges. At all hours of the day and night, at all seasons of the year, thousands of them are seen, men, women, and children, mingled together, indiscriminately dabling in the river to purge away the impurities of body, soul, and garment, at the same instant, and by the same means.

WITH such an explanation as this, I have given, (and I have with me, the unanimous opinions of all the authors who have written on, and of every man in this kingdom, who knows the least of, the manners and customs of the Hindoos,) how ridiculous does the above dismal story

story of Captain Cowe's appear! and how shall we account for five or six Members of the Committee, giving up such cock and bull accounts, to terrify our women and children? It can do no more; for surely no man, of the least intelligence, can suppose the people run into the river, from terror and dismay; not they, truly. Hanging a Bramin was a novelty, to be sure; but if five hundred such rascally Bramins as Maha Rajah Nundcomar, had suffered the same death, not a Hindoo among them would have gone without his dinner on the occasion.

THEY are by no means a sanguinary set of people; their religion teaches them not to take away the life of a fly wantonly, nor will they do it; this, in many instances, they carry to what we should call a ridiculous extreme. Yet these people have laws among them, which would shock the most hardened Europeans. They impale alive wretches who have twice been detected in robbing in boats on the river; they scourge to death for theft; and they mutilate, by cutting off the hand, the ears, or the nose, for house-breaking, or robberies on the road. Nothing can be so erroneous, or liable to mislead the judgment so much, as comparing some few particular laws and customs of one country, with a few of those of another. The Hindoos would no more change their own code, such as it is, with Englishmen, than Englishmen

men would change with them: their's suit best with their climate, is interwoven with their religion, and they have been possessed of it ages before the people of this kingdom knew whether they dwelt on an island, or on the continent.

BUT to return to our subject; this single evidence of Captain Cowe, grew out of the oddity of the question, without which it never would have entered his head, to have amused the Committee with such an idle tale of whimsical political interference; nor do I believe that it was more thought of by any one Member of the Committee; otherwise, when the Bengal Judicial Bill was introduced into the House of Commons, how came it pass without any mention having been made, or even a hint started, that it would be improper to leave in possession of the civil and judicial powers at Calcutta, monsters, who had been guilty of such an infamous conspiracy? All the public evidence, that has been yet produced, was known then: if there is private information, it ought not to be held back from the public eye; if it is held back, and either the Judges, or Governor General Hastings, suffer in the mind of one single fellow subject, male or female, from the inferences held up in the report of the Committee, it is a mode of punishment, unknown to the laws of the land, and not to be justified on any principles, but such as are adopted at the inquisition; and

and no man can say whose turn it shall come to next, to have his honour arraigned. There is another Committee who deal more candidly : facts are produced, and the supposed culprit is candidly informed, that attempts will openly and fairly be made to fix criminality upon him, but that every assistance will be given him to defend himself, and no advantage taken of popular clamour to prejudice his cause. Had I a brother in such a situation, sharp as the fraternal feelings might pierce my soul, I should bow to the ground, in reverence to the justice of my country ; I would soothe him in his misfortunes, as the angel of the Lord did our first parent, and comfort him in the same words as our immortal poet uses, in a similar situation, to that first child of human misery ; " Go thy ways in peace, the world is all before thee, where to choose a place of rest, and Providence thy guide."

THE singularity of the case before me, and the uncommon hardships the supposed criminals will suffer, if any further steps shall be taken to urge the vengeance of the House against them, not only unheard in their own defence, but even uninformed of the charge, induces me to endeavour to draw the attention of the House of Commons and the public, to this extraordinary attempt of the Committee.

BETWEEN

BETWEEN the return of the first report, on which the Legislature had acted, and the introduction of the second, in which the curious insinuations are presented for the consideration of the public, Mr. Philip Francis arrived, who, finding that the Directors of the East India Company, treated him as he most certainly deserved, not only for penning his insolent Letter to them at his leaving Bengal, but also for his sending it to be published in all the Daily Papers, full of spleen and malice, he applies to the Committee sitting at Westminster, to countenance his abominable falsehoods. Had I been Chairman of that Committee, most certainly I would at least have been neuter in that whole business. It rested with him not to engage the passions of the awful Senator, in the paltry politics of the East India Proprietor. When the devil shews his cloven foot, in vain does he attempt to lead us into vice, with the syren's song or angel's face. Let the General harangue to all eternity, not one man will be convinced that he is actuated by virtue, or from public good, in the present business: whether you, Sir, are subject to the same conclusion, I shall leave others to determine; but I hesitate not one moment to declare, that to this cause, and to this cause alone, we owe the reference back to the former report, for one solitary piece of evidence, (extracted, not given) in justification of the opinion implied of there having been more of policy than of justice, in the condemnation

condemnation and execution of Rajah Nund-
romar.

I HAVE said a great deal in my former Letter to you, Sir, on the *crooked politics*, and unfounded assertions of this genuine Knight of the Post, and in some degree I stood pledged to dissect his Letter, No. 7, of your appendix. Indeed I have such a fertile field before me, of instances of this gentleman's want of candour, and disregard of truth, that I am at a loss from what part of his literary productions to cull my examples.

With your permission, and in order to keep in view a former assertion of mine, viz. that he entered and left Bengal in the same gloomy habit of soul, predicting the sudden and absolute ruin of that kingdom, I will present you with two instances only, from the first Letter of the Majority to the Court of Directors.

“37TH paragraph of a Letter from the Majority at Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated the 3d of December, 1774, about six weeks after the arrival of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, at Calcutta.

“ON this everlasting theme of Mr. Hastings,
“we shall only for the present observe in general,
“that under any tolerable form of government,
“the

“ the effects of the famine must long since have
 “ ceased to be felt in a country, where nature asks
 “ nothing of the governing power, but not to
 “ study to resist and defeat her operations. The
 “ world will soon see that it is oppression of the
 “ most violent and pernicious nature, which has
 “ has reduced this fertile country to a state of de-
 “ population.”

I DEEM even you, Sir, who I believe to have read every thing that has ever been written on government and politics, to produce, collected together in so few words, arguments so foreign to experience, to human reason, and to truth ; and introduced for no other purpose, than to lead the mind off from a fact, which nobody can deny, to daring assertions, which nobody will believe.

THE severity of the famine was felt in the summer of the year 1770, it swept away a full fourth of the labouring people of the provinces of Bengal. The Letter from which the above paragraph has been taken, was written in the beginning of December, 1774, a little more than four years afterwards. Mr. Hastings's argument led to prove, that one cause of the collections falling short, was the vast number of the cultivators of lands (from the crops of which the revenues arise) having been swept away by the famine. If it should please God, in order to punish us for our manifold sins,
 to

to visit this kingdom, with so dreadful a calamity, as in one summer, to carry off one quarter part of the working people of this country, and the revenues fall short in consequence. Would you, Sir, dare to insult the understanding, and play upon the feelings of the House, by assuring them, that the present evils did not arise from the famine, but entirely from the mismanagement of the former administration?

If, as they affirm, the government of Bengal, had a tendency to the depopulation of this country, how has it come about, that the famine and government together, hath not yet quite extirpated the people, and destroyed the revenues? Mr. Hastings had been but a little more than two years in the government of Bengal, when the Majority arrived. Supposing him to have been the whole time employed, as they would have us to believe, in devising the means to finish what the famine had begun, two years before he came from Madras, and laid waste the whole kingdom; if they establish this fact, will it not bear hard on several others of theirs, which may be found on the Company's books, from November 1775, to September 1776, when the evils returned with redoubled violence, by the power reverting into the hands of the Governor General, by the death of Colonel Monson?

IN the short space of time which elapsed from the sailing of the last ships in April, 1775 (when they rested their cause on the strength of the accusations, (how collected, I have shewn) and sent home, as being quite sufficient to bring about the recall of Mr. Hastings) to the death of Colonel Monson, their Letters to their honourable Masters, the East India Company, and to the Ministry, took a different turn. They had, by their presence, restored health, peace, and plenty, to the country, and liberty to the very few inhabitants they found. "The steady power which had been employed to resist and defeat Nature's operations," they had effectually removed, and people sprung up together with rice in the fields, spontaneously. These poor young naked natives they clothed, the hungry were fed, and the golden age had returned so suddenly, that every body was lost in rapture and joyous amazement; and all this had been brought about by their having found in themselves, those men, "by whose future services, and by what future exertion of virtue and ability, such a state can be recovered. Common men are not equal to the occasion."

UNHAPPY Bengal! what pity, that these angelic beings were not of the nature of Swift's *strudbugs*, but that on one of them dying, every thing should in the instant fall back into its former ruin and desolation. In short, if you believe

lieve your friend, Mr. Francis, chaos was come again.

I FEEL very unhappy that I cannot amuse myself in his golden regions, his short-lived elysium, to converse a little with his beings of a season, which sprung up with his power, and could not be held back from sinking again into nothing, on the demise of Colonel Monson: it requires a pen like your own, Sir, to furnish a proper epitaph on the occasion.

No one circumstance of the conduct of Mr. Hastings in his preceding administration, was left untouched; all was pointedly condemned and execrated, in select and chosen words and phrases; in this mine Mr. Francis toiled incessantly, as I shall abundantly shew. Major Scott, having trod the ground before, has disposed of the treaty of Benares, Rohello war, King's tribute, and several other subjects; but the mine is inexhaustible, and would furnish endless materials to prove, that the Majority never once expected, that their representations would be controverted, or their assertions disputed, but depended entirely on the prejudices of the nation, and the influence of the Ministry, to bring about the recall of the Governor General. The following paragraphs have been extracted from one of the first Letters of the Majority to the Court of Directors.

PARAGRAPH 70. " The Letters received by
 " General Clavering from several of the Com-
 " pany's military officers entrusted with separate
 " commands, will be found deserving of notice.
 " They contain accounts of the military expedi-
 " tions and hostilities, carried on against a number
 " of Rajahs and Zemindars, without any authority
 " from the present government, or any direct
 " communication to us of the plan of execution
 " of them. Most of these measures appear to
 " have been directed by the provincial Chiefs of
 " Patna and Burdwan, some time after our arrival
 " here. In some places, the Rajahs are reduced
 " to obedience, and give hostages : in many
 " others, the villages are burnt, and the corn cut
 " down and destroyed. Ensign Scott, having re-
 " ceived orders from the Chief of Patna, to seize
 " or expel Rajah Tuttah Shaw, pursues him into
 " Sujah ul Dowlah's dominions, and makes three of
 " the Vizier's subjects prisoners of war. Captain
 " Crawford, by order of the Chief of Burdwan,
 " entered Patcoom on the 5th of last month, with
 " six companies of Seapoys, took the capital, le-
 " velled the town, and cleared the country, in or-
 " der to make the post tenable. On the 9th, he
 " attacks and drives the natives before him, af-
 " ter which, *the whole country fled into the moun-*
 " *tains.* He says, he is endeavouring to sow dis-
 " sention among their Chiefs, so as to induce them
 " to

“to submit, or enable him with ease to rout
“them out.

PARAGRAPH 71. “We do not pretend to de-
“termine at present, whether measures of this na-
“ture be necessary or not; but we think it very
“extraordinary, that military expeditions of such
“importance, and leading to such consequences,
“should be undertaken, not only without the or-
“ders, but without the knowledge of this Board.
“We are sorry to be obliged to conclude this ar-
“ticle with declaring, that as far as we are able
“to judge, the general principle which seems to
“have animated this government, as well with re-
“spect to the natives of the provinces, as to the
“neighbouring states, has had too near a rela-
“tion to the expressive words so often made use
“of *extirpate, exterminate, root out, and annihilate.*

(Signed)

“J. CLAVERING.

“GEO. MONSON.

“P. FRANCIS.”

WHAT uncandid misrepresentations have we
here of necessary political measures, unavoidable
in their nature, except we sit tamely down, whilst
a race of lawless savage Barbarians, lay waste and
depopulate our most fertile plains.

THOUGH

THOUGH Clavering was violent, and Monson sarcastic, they were accomplished soldiers, and, I hope, strangers to the above detestable chicanery; though the language and sentiments suit Francis exactly.

MANY parts of the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, are bounded by thick woods and hills, rising one above another to a moderate height. Several of the vallies behind the woods, and between the mountains, are inhabited by different tribes of unsocial beings, not many degrees removed from the savage life. These banditti had, under all governments, in all periods of known time, infested and laid waste the fertile cultivated plains of the above-mentioned provinces, now possessed by the East India Company. Various plans had been formed, and many experiments tried, to reduce these people to order, and to cover the farmers in the adjacent plains, from their mischievous devastations, which continually destroyed the inhabitants, and impeded the collections of the revenue. By degrees, a chain of military posts had been formed on the confines of our territories, which connected with, and supported one another. The officers commanding these posts, were, in general, put under the directions of the civil servants, superintending the collections in the district on which the post depended; others commanded partizan corps, stationed in the hills,

hills, and acted under the immediate orders of the Presidency. Many of these commands were so distant from Calcutta, that it was indispensably necessary for the Board to give general instructions, and confide a great deal in the discretionary conduct of the different collecting residents, and commanding officers. The powers of the former were not unsimilar to those anciently given to the Lords of the Marches in England, to repel by force of arms, the sudden incursions of a fierce, valiant, northern people; and the latter had such kind of orders as our modern commanders receive, when entrusted by government with an expedition against a neighbouring state.

ALL that was intended, was the preservation of the lives and properties of the Company's farmers, or (if you like it better) the King's subjects. If this could be effected by moderate means and fair treaties, with the Rajahs, Zemindars, and other Chiefs of the Hill-people (as those motley tribes of independent free-booters are commonly called) it was so to be effected; if not, then they were to proceed by force, to drive them further from our boundaries; or, if necessary, to subject them entirely to our government. Look round the world; search into every page of antient and modern history, and inform the public, how a new sovereignty, lately acquired by conquest, part of a vast continent, and in a similar situation with the provinces

provinces of Bengal and Bahar, are by other means to be defended and maintained.

BUT there were orders of the East India Company's, which positively forbid a further extension of their dominions on that side of India; and it was for the purpose of the Majority, that the necessary and unavoidable measures which had been taken, in order to form a strong barrier for the safety of those dominions, should be represented in Europe as a breach of those orders, and an avaricious ambition in the late Administration, to obtain new provinces for the Company, by the force of their arms. With what candour, and on what foundation, orders, issued to obtain the very purposes intended by the Company, have been perverted by the Majority, in order to criminate the conduct of the Governor General, has already been shewn.

SUCH were the men the late Ministry provided to correct abuses, and give to the government of this deluded kingdom, candid information of the real state of the Company's affairs in Asia; and I am much mistaken, if the Lord Advocate, in his late much studied harrangue, has not let puffy peep a little too plainly out of the bag, by giving the House to understand, what the intentions of the last Ministers were, with respect to India affairs, the sending out of another ship load or two of locusts, under

der the denomination of supervisors, to devour the remaining wine and oil of that unhappy country, Bengal. I will hope that we have escaped that great evil, and that no more duplicates of coercive measures, or Boston port bills, are to be sent as padlocks on the Ganges, but that the time is arrived, when not only the nation, but even the East India Company, are emancipated from their servile and dependent situation, on a venal court faction.

AN honourable Baronet complimented the able Advocate on his acquiring such extensive knowledge in Asiatic affairs in so short a time. Had he forgot that the man comes from the Northward, and was bred a Lawyer? What has he collected but words? I will venture to wager with the honourable Baronet, that if he will but send him, or any other famous man of the profession, half a peck of pagodas, they will collect much better words, and more of them in his defence. His lordship strews a few laurels on the grave of that wonderful man, Lord Clive, (on whose vast abilities I never think, but with admiration); but I remember other orators of the same profession, straining all their powers to blacken the character, and tarnish the lustre of that great hero's virtues. Is the nation never to allow a little honest praise to living worthies? Must no good man taste of fame in the vale of peace? Shall such an incendiary as I have, and shall prove, Mr. Francis to be,

be, have his works made part of the national records ; and in the same volume, a stain be thrown on the spotless character of Governor General Hastings ? If, forgetting the injuries done by the dead, and applauding those now forging by the living, is the high road to interest in this world, and heaven in the next, I fear, I shall stay where I am until the curtain drops, and then sink into the opposite place to heaven ; for I feel no symptoms of repentance working on my mind ; and people advanced in life, do not grow less obstinate by living longer.

Now, Sir, for a fair investigation into the merits of Mr. Francis's Letter to the Court of Directors : their neglect of which, your Committee seems so extremely displeased with. I grudge such a document the paper it has already wasted, and is about to waste ; but this man must be put totally to silence, and the labourers which keeps about Debrett's shop, dismissed to seek their bread by some more worthy employment, than alarming the nation with fictitious accounts of things which never existed. Abler workmen have taken the matter up in a much more honourable place, or I should never by such grubs as those, have been roused from my compleat contempt for them and their master.

I HAVE,

I HAVE, Sir, caused the whole Letter, as it stands in the appendix, No. 7, to your report, to be copied in separate paragraphs, and under each paragraph you will find my remarks and observations; this I thought better than being obliged constantly to refer the reader back to the Letter itself. No man knows, Sir, better than you do, how necessary perspicuity is to the fully understanding what a writer means.

FIRST

FIRST COMMITTEE,

Second Report.

APPENDIX, No. 7.

(C O P Y.)

Mr. FRANCIS's Letter to the COURT of DIRECTORS.

Gentlemen,

FOR your convenience, as well as to assist my own memory, I have thrown together, in the paper which I have now the honour to deliver you, short memorandums of the principal points on which I wish, and propose, to give you all the information in my power. Some things will require explanation, others may have been omitted, which I may recollect hereafter. I am ready, and shall be so at all times, to answer any questions you may think fit to put to me; and I hope that if any thing farther should occur to me, which may

escape

‘ escape my attention, you will allow me to com-
‘ municate it to you in writing, whether as a
‘ correction of any of the contents of this paper,
‘ or in addition to them.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Gentlemen,

‘ Your most obedient and

East India House,

‘ humble Servant,

19th Nov. 1781.

‘ P. FRANCIS.’

R E M A R K.

KNOWING the desponding spirit and aptitude at
fiction, to which Mr. Francis was so excessively
prone, I cannot blame the Court of Directors
for being content to hold no farther converse or
connection with the man:

‘ Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Ho-
‘ nourable the Court of Directors.

‘ East India House, 19th November, 1781.

PAR. I. ‘ When I had the honour of address-
‘ ing the Court of Directors from St. Helena, it
‘ was not known to me, that one of the subjects
‘ on which I proposed to give them information,
‘ would be brought so directly and explicitly into
‘ their view, as I find it has been, by Mr. Haf-
‘ tings’s

' tings's Letter to them, of the 2d of December,
 ' 1780; as he therein expressly tells you,' " That
 ' they shall be under the necessity of making a
 ' large reduction, and possibly a total suspension
 ' of your investment for the ensuing year; and
 ' that he cannot pronounce what their ability may
 ' be, beyond that period." ' I have nothing to
 ' offer on that head, but that I am thoroughly
 ' convinced, that the necessity to which Mr. Haf-
 ' tings alludes, will continue to operate, if not in-
 ' crease in its force, and in all its effects; and
 ' that no man, who knows any thing of the real
 ' state of India, can, even by conjecture, point out
 ' a period at which such necessity will cease to be
 ' felt. Peace at present, is not within sight; and,
 ' whenever there shall be a peace, I can venture to
 ' assure you, that the comparative state of your ex-
 ' pences and resources in India, as they will then
 ' stand, will not exhibit a surplus applicable to the
 ' purchase of an investment. It is my most serious
 ' opinion, that you will never again have an in-
 ' vestment purchased with the savings from the re-
 ' venues at Bengal. I hear you have lately au-
 ' thorized the Governor and Council, to draw upon
 ' you for 500,000l. to be applied strictly to this
 ' object: you know, better, than I do, how long
 ' the Company can support such a demand upon
 ' their resources in England. As long as it can
 ' be supported, you will consult the welfare of
 ' Bengal, at least, in laying this burden on the
 ' Company.

‘ Company. If there be no investment purchased
 ‘ in one year, the landed revenue of the country
 ‘ will, in a little time, be found to fail nearly in
 ‘ the same proportion: one is, in effect, the
 ‘ supply of the other. Again, as there is properly
 ‘ no trade in Bengal, or next to none, but that
 ‘ which is created by the purchase of the Com-
 ‘ pany’s investment, it follows, that, in whatever
 ‘ proportion such investment is diminished, the ma-
 ‘ nufacturers are so far forth left without employ-
 ‘ ment; the consequence of which must be, that
 ‘ they will either fly the country, or turn to some
 ‘ other occupation, and the manufactures be pro-
 ‘ portionably debased, if not irrecoverably lost.
 ‘ Reflections of this nature, I presume, must have
 ‘ occurred to you, when you authorized the Go-
 ‘ vernor and Council to draw upon you for so
 ‘ large a sum. Whether it will be in their power
 ‘ to apply the whole of it in the manner you ex-
 ‘ pect, I very much doubt: but as a collateral re-
 ‘ source, applicable to the same object, I submit to
 ‘ you to consider, whether the following idea
 ‘ might not be adopted with advantage, under
 ‘ such corrections and improvements as your own
 ‘ judgment may suggest. That all Europeans, and
 ‘ others, resident in Bengal, having money which
 ‘ they wish to remit to England, should be invited
 ‘ to subscribe it into the Treasury of the Board of
 ‘ Trade, to be applied to the purchase of piece
 ‘ goods, raw silk, &c. on condition that their bills

‘ on

' on the Company, at a favourable rate of ex-
 ' change, (suppose, for example, 2s. 1d. the cur-
 ' rent rupee) shall be accepted and paid at a given
 ' period, after the arrival of the ships in England.
 ' This expedient, I believe, will produce twenty-
 ' five lacks a year, at least for a year or two; and,
 ' as far as it went, the extraction of specie from
 ' England and from Bengal, would be propor-
 ' tionably and equally saved. I submit this
 ' merely as a hint to your better judgment.'

R E M A R K.

MR. Hastings had some doubts that he should not be able to continue the full support of four different armies, belonging to the Company, then actually in the field, and looking, every man of them, to Bengal for support and subsistence; and at the same time continue to send annually home to the Company, an investment, amounting to 800,000, or 1,000,000l. sterling, as he had done for years past; besides supplying money and provisions to Bombay and Madras. So circumstanced, he thought it his duty to advise the Company at home of his apprehensions, that they might not load themselves with the expence of unnecessary tonnage, in order to carry home Bengal goods, which it might happen he could not spare money to provide. Was not this justifiable and

and fair? has such a necessary piece of advice had any bad effects? and has not his powerful and unwearied invention of finding out resources, enabled him to go on with the investment? and is it not now known, that there is at Bengal, and on its way home, more than a million and a half of Bengal goods, provided to enable the Company to make good the bills which necessity has obliged the different Presidencies to draw on the Company?

IN the latter part of this first paragraph, Mr. Francis modestly offers a hint to the Court of Directors, which he would hope to obtrude on the world for his own. Is it possible that this man was unacquainted with all the different ways that this, his hint, has been given to the Company before? So far back as to the years 1762 and 1763, I remember Mr. Gregory, now the Chairman of the Court of Directors, (whose honest name I would not presume to join with Mr. Francis's, were it not in the cause of truth,) often mentioned his apprehensions, that sending of so much money out of the country, that was acquired by individuals, and at the same time their supplying the foreign companies for bills, which prevented the farther importation of bullion, would in a few years impede the necessary circulation in the provinces, and hurt the revenues, wishing some means could be devised to receive private property

D

for

for notes on the Company. A few years after, Governor Verelst stated this matter fully and fairly to the Company, with his fears of the consequences, hinting at the same remedy. After that, a merchant of extensive experience, stated in the Free Merchants Letters the same evil, and proposed the same remedy. From this last, Master Francis (being very fond of the man) stole the hint, as he calls it; but he cannot even steal fairly. The author of the Free Merchants Letters proposes, that the Company shall receive the current rupee at the exchange of two shillings, and grant bills on Europe at a very long sight; and Mr. Francis well knows, that all the Europeans in Bengal, would very gladly pay in every sixpence they could get on such terms, with a view that they, or their friends, should receive it in Europe, with an interest of three per cent. even five years after paying of it into the Company's cash at Bengal. Had he offered this exchange, I should have said nothing; but his cunning (for it is all he has to serve him in place of wisdom) suggested, that though he himself had taken money out of the treasury for his wages, at two shillings the current rupee, yet that he never had paid in any at less than two shillings and one penny; and he thought that if he gave in his hint on terms less advantageous for others, than he had taken for himself, somebody would take notice of it. Thus do the wicked ever dig pits for others, and fall

fall into them themselves : for I dare him to deny, that he ever received money from the Company, at more than two shillings the current rupee, or took bills on them for less than two shillings and one penny.

PAR. 2. ‘ The second point, on which I meant
 ‘ to offer you some information, was the state of the
 ‘ administration of justice in Bengal ; but as I find
 ‘ that this subject has already been taken up by the
 ‘ legislature, and is likely to be resumed at the meet-
 ‘ ing of Parliament, I shall not enter further into
 ‘ it in this place. One fact only it is fit you should
 ‘ be apprised of, because it directly concerns the
 ‘ Company’s interest, and may require some imme-
 ‘ diate orders from you. It is, that whereas, in
 ‘ many acts and declarations of the Governor Ge-
 ‘ neral and Council, and more particularly in their
 ‘ declaration made to the Supreme Court of Ju-
 ‘ dicature, on the 11th of March, 1780, it was
 ‘ constantly avowed and maintained by them, that
 ‘ the Zemindars, and other Landholders of Bengal,
 ‘ were exclusively subject to the jurisdiction of the
 ‘ Governor General and Council ; the Chief Justice
 ‘ of the Supreme Court was, nevertheless, appointed
 ‘ in October, 1780, by a Majority of the Board, con-
 ‘ sisting of the Governor General and Sir Eyre Coote,
 ‘ against Mr. Wheler and me, to be Superintend-
 ‘ ent, or Judge, of the Dewanne Adawlets, and to
 ‘ decide, in the last resort, in all appeals from those

‘ courts ; that the Chief Justice had accepted the
 ‘ office ; and that on the 24th of October, the
 ‘ Governor General proposed an allowance of
 ‘ 5,600 Sicca rupees a month for the Chief Justice,
 ‘ which at that time was not voted.’

R E M A R K.

THE subject of appointing the Chief Justice to the Superintendence of the Sudder Dewanne Adawlet, with a salary adequate to the fatigue of the duty, was proposed as a conciliatory measure, and referred home to the Company for their approbation. The reasons for the turn given to it in the Committee, have been explained in this and my former Letter. I shall only subjoin here, that though Mr. Hastings has been continued in the government ten years, so oddly have things fallen out, that no plan of his has had any time given it to prove by experience its utility. At Bengal, they are now acting under the sanction of Acts of Parliament of last session, little dreaming that all is going to be new-modelled. With such unsteadiness of government at the seat of empire, how can we expect tranquillity and ease at the extremes ; which, in point of distance by sea, must be considered, with respect to the mother country, as antipodical?

PAR.

PAR. 3. ' These subjects being dismissed, I
 ' come to the great leading facts, which constitute
 ' the actual state of India, as far as I am acquainted
 ' with it : 1st. The dominions of your ally, or ra-
 ' ther your vassal, the Nabob of Oude, are utterly,
 ' and, I believe, irrecoverably, ruined. In the
 ' year 1776, the revenues of that country, and its
 ' dependencies, exceeded three hundred lacks of
 ' rupees. In April, 1780, they were so reduced,
 ' that, whereas the Company's demand on the
 ' Vizier for that year, as stated by Mr. Charles
 ' Purling, amounted to one hundred and twenty
 ' lacks, and, as stated by me, to one hundred
 ' and fifty lacks, no assignments could be had
 ' from the Vizier for more than ninety lacks, and
 ' he himself was reduced to the absolute want of
 ' a bare subsistence for himself and his family.
 ' You will find the particulars recorded in our con-
 ' sultation of the 3d of April, 1780. You cannot
 ' but be sensible how far the fact of itself extends,
 ' and to what consequences it leads. I mention it
 ' now for the following reason, out of many that
 ' are still more important. I find, that in the re-
 ' port of the Committee of Proprietors, dated the
 ' 19th of December, 1780, credit is taken (under
 ' the head of outstanding debts due to the Com-
 ' pany) for current rupees, 25,65,989, due by
 ' Asoph-ul Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, with as much
 ' apparent confidence and security, as if you had
 ' the money in your treasury in Leadenhall-
 ' street.

' street. Now I do assure you, that this debt, so
 ' far from being discharged, is by this time immo-
 ' derately increased; and that it never can be dis-
 ' charged out of the revenues of Oude, which,
 ' when I left India, were far short of being equal
 ' to the indispensable establishments of that go-
 ' vernment, and which were still declining rapidly
 ' every day. 2d. I have good reason to believe,
 ' that your *ally*, the Rana of Gobub, as I find him
 ' entitled in the Governor General's Letter, is much
 ' dissatisfied with the presence of your troops,
 ' and with the effects it has produced in his coun-
 ' try: That Major Popham was so apprehensive
 ' of being betrayed by him to the Mahrattas, that
 ' he seldom or never ventured to communicate
 ' his plan of operations to him, and more particu-
 ' larly in the instance of his enterprize on Gwa-
 ' lior; and that no part of the subsidy, due by the
 ' treaty from the Rana, or only a very small pro-
 ' portion of it, had been discharged. The truth
 ' is, he is so inconsiderable, that I had hardly
 ' ever heard of his name, before the treaty of al-
 ' liance with him, and guarantee of his dominions,
 ' were proposed by the Governor General. 3d. With
 ' respect to the Rajah of Berar, you are already in
 ' possession of my opinion of his views and dis-
 ' position towards our government, and of the in-
 ' tent and consequence of his keeping an army
 ' stationed upon our frontier in Cuttack. In my
 ' Letter of the 29th of March last, I told you
 ' that

' that he had made a demand of money from us
 ' for the payment of this army. I must now add
 ' it as a fact, which I have absolute reason to be-
 ' lieve true, though I am not able to prove it, that
 ' money, to the amount of three or four lacks of
 ' rupees, was actually sent to the commandant
 ' of that army, and that a much larger sum was
 ' promised by the Governor General, without the
 ' advice, consent, or knowledge, of the Council:
 ' With respect to the detachment under the com-
 ' mand of Lieutenant Colonel Pearce, avowedly
 ' formed for the purpose of marching through
 ' Cuttack and the Northern Circars, towards the
 ' Carnatic, and of co-operating with Sir Eyre
 ' Coote, I must inform you, that so long as the
 ' above Mahratta army remains upon the frontier,
 ' the detachment cannot move without leaving
 ' Bengal open to invasion; that, while the Mah-
 ' rattas keep the same, or any other situation up-
 ' on our frontier, they necessarily engage too
 ' much of our force and attention from other
 ' objects; which, without an actual rupture with
 ' us, produces many other effects of the most
 ' avowed hostility. I do not think the Governor
 ' General himself will deem it prudent to move
 ' Colonel Pearce's detachment southwards, until
 ' the danger, which may and ought to be appre-
 ' hended from the uncertain motions of the Ra-
 ' jah of Berar, shall be clearly and absolutely re-
 ' moved: he cannot do it, but in contradiction to
 ' my

' my opinion, repeatedly given at the Board, and
 ' which ought to hold good as long as the state
 ' of facts is the same. He never can obtain the
 ' consent of Mr. Wheeler, who, I know, is im-
 ' moveably fixed in this point: and finally, he
 ' cannot do it even with the approbation of Sir
 ' Eyre Coote, who, though very desirous of re-
 ' ceiving every possible support from Bengal, did
 ' nevertheless, freely admit, that the measure was
 ' not to be thought of, unless we were perfectly
 ' secure of the Mahratta army in Cuttack. You
 ' already know, that, in November, 1780, the
 ' bonded and other debts against your treasury in
 ' Bengal, exceeded eighty lacks of current rupees:
 ' You may depend upon it, that that burden will
 ' increase as long at least as the war continues, and
 ' as long as money can be borrowed on any terms.
 ' 4th. In the report of the Committee of Pro-
 ' prietors, I find the bonded debt of Bombay,
 ' stated at 35,11,955 Bombay rupees. The fact
 ' is, that, on the 30th of April, 1780, their
 ' bonded debt amounted to 50,89,213 Bombay
 ' rupees. Having no means to pay the interest
 ' of 9 per cent. on this debt, their practice is to
 ' convert the interest, at the end of every half
 ' year, into principal. Supposing this to be done,
 ' as I have no doubt it has been, the result will be,
 ' that, at the end of October, 1781, their bonded
 ' debt will amount to 58,07,634 Bombay rupees,
 ' admitting that the debt is not otherwise in-
 ' creased

' creased by an additional loan: It is also a fact,
 ' that, by their own estimate, their expences from
 ' April 1780, to April 1781, would exceed their
 ' resources in the sum of 38,34,492 rupees, which
 ' of course, is a debt on the government, whe-
 ' ther bonded or not. The whole Bombay debt,
 ' therefore, without reckoning any thing incurred
 ' since April last, must now stand at 96,42,126
 ' Bombay rupees, and this I believe to be very
 ' much under the amount.'

R E M A R K.

THE foregoing paragraph runs up to so many
 counts, as the lawyers call it, that it will be no
 easy matter to separate them. This first is in the
 true stile of ruin and despondence, with which
 Mr. Francis has at all times exercised his
 pen.

To this I shall only observe, that Mr. Fran-
 cis and his friends were in the government of
 Bengal, when the Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah died,
 and pursued what measures they pleased, as to the
 mode of conducting the government of his coun-
 try; for Mr. Bristow, the confidential friend of
 the Majority, a very worthy and capable young
 man, was sent up as a dry nurse to the foolish
 fellow, and worse than beast, Asoph ul Dowlah,
 the Vizier's son and successor. Nothing was, or
 could

could be done, in that government, but by the orders of the Majority, recommended and carried into execution by Mr. Bristow. The Idoot-Nabob's army was reformed, his household settled, his civil list disbursements arranged, and every single circumstance adjusted, by themselves, under management of their own agent, who continued there until the beginning of 1777; when Mr. Middleton, who had been resident at the old Vizier's court before their arrival, was sent by Mr. Hastings to supplant Mr. Bristow, as Mr. Bristow had been sent by the Majority to supplant him. This gentleman, well versed in all the affairs of the Vizier's court, continued to act about the same length of time as Mr. Bristow had acted, when Sir Eyre Coote, wishing to have Mr. Purling made the Resident, another very able servant of the Company's, well versed in the languages and modes of conducting business in Asiatic courts, was sent in the room of Mr. Middleton.

Soon after the time this last gentleman went up, Mr. Francis states the total ruin of the country of Oude, in a stile of despondency peculiarly his own. Would it not have been candid in him, to have said something of the time this great ruin commenced? or does he mean to infer that Oude, like Bengal, during the management of their agent, Mr. Bristow, flourished in all the luxury of plenty; but the instant Mr. Middleton returned,

ed, all was ruined and destroyed? I believe the people of this country begin to be a little too well acquainted with his monstrous stories, to believe, on his bare word, that the Vizier's dominions, during his and his friends administration, produced full three millions of pounds sterling per annum; but that, in less than three years after his party had lost the power, the Nabob and his family wanted a bare subsistence. Such an assertion is truly worthy one of the disciples of NUNDCOMAR's academy; but that does not lessen the insult offered to the House of Commons, and to the nation, for imposing on them such abominable falsehoods,

2DLY. The Rana of Gobub Mr. Francis never heard of before: that, as luck will have it, may be true; his enquiries led him not that way; if they had, he would have heard of that tributary Prince, and fifty others, who inhabit the continent of India: but a man, that should set himself up for a person who understood the politics of Europe, and at the same time own that he never heard of the Prince of Hesse, the Elector of Hanover, Swiss Cantons, republics of Venice, of Florence, and other small states of Italy, would not have much credit given him for his knowledge in the affairs of Europe.

VERY numerous are the small states of Asia, whose situation obliges them to watch the motions of

of the great potentates, and trim over, first to one, and then to the other, as interest may incline, or necessity compel. But of this Mr. Francis knows nothing; nor does he seem to know, that since the English have established themselves on that peninsula, a kind of balance of power hath imperceptibly formed itself, that will, in all human probability, on a general peace taking place, (which we may expect to hear of shortly,) be adjusted in such a manner, as to secure the tranquillity of that continent for many years to come.

3DLY. Whenever Mr. Francis, urging his opinion, depends on his own positive assertions, he is for ever unlucky. The detachment under Colonel Pearce did move on, and arrived safe on the coast. He should be more cautious of committing Mr. Wheeler, now he is no longer influenced by his pernicious counsel: that gentleman is emancipated; and having had time to think for himself, joins the Governor General in all his plans for a peace; to obtain which honourably, you know, Sir, nations must shew a power to resist by war.

IF Mr. Hastings did, on his own private credit, raise three or four lacks of rupees, and with so small a sum purchase the neutrality of so powerful a branch of the Mahratta empire as the Rajah of Berar, and thereby enable Colonel Pearce to pass unmolested

unmolested through not only his dominions, but also through the dominions of the Subah of the Deccan, and join Sir Eyre Coote on the coast with such a noble reinforcement, what words are strong enough in which to speak the praise due to such a noble effort of disinterested patriotism ! A Prince nearly connected, by every tie natural and religious, to the first Mahratta power against whom we were in arms, and himself able to bring forty thousand horse into the field, has been bought off, by Mr. Francis's account, for thirty or forty thousand pounds. Cheap doings, these : I wish some of our European politicians could do such jobs so reasonably.

PAR. 4. ' 5th. I cannot speak particularly of ' the bonded debt at Fort Saint George ; but I ' have heard from good authority, that it amounted ' to the utmost they could borrow. One fact, ' however, is necessary to be brought into your ' immediate observation ; that whereas the Com- ' mittee of Proprietors have taken credit in their ' report for out-standing debts and property at Fort ' St. George, convertible into cash, to the amount ' of 1,380,083½. that whole credit, or by far the ' greatest part of it, is ideal. Their expences are ' estimated by Sir Eyre Coote at above seven lacks ' of rupees a month, which he declares, " must ' all come from Bengal, as there were no re-
" sources

"sources in the Carnatic, from which a single pa
 "goda was to be expected."

R E M A R K.

THE statement of the debts, due on bond at the different settlements, I shall admit to be accurate, though brought forward by Mr. Francis; and shall only observe, that the aggregate sum does not amount to what the Bengal bonded debt alone amounted to when Mr. Hastings came to the government of that country.

THE annual revenues of Bengal alone, amount to more than double the sum; and if we add that part of the revenue of Oudé, which must, and always will, be applied to the payment of our army on the peace establishment, this bugbear of Mr. Francis will disappear insensibly in a year or two after the present troubles subside. The Company's bonds, like our national funds, rise or fall in their value, on a nearer or more distant prospect of a peace. I have known them formerly often above par in the market; nor is it ever, but with reluctance, that the bond-holders at Bengal, bring them in for payment; and the government may always reduce the interest to five per cent. which is not equivalent to more than two per cent. in Europe.

PAR.

PAR. 5. ' 6th. In Bengal, I am first to ob-
 ' serve to you, that all the establishments in the
 ' civil departments, have been immoderately in-
 ' creased since Sir John Clavering's death; but
 ' these, however great in themselves, are not to be
 ' mentioned in comparison with the excess to which
 ' the military charges have been carried in the
 ' same period. In the 28th article of the instruc-
 ' tions which General Clavering, Colonel Monson,
 ' and I, carried out with us, in the year 1774, the
 ' Company say, ' our military expences at Bengal,
 ' having increased to a degree which is become *in-*
 ' *supportable* to us, we, in an especial manner, en-
 ' join you to make strict enquiry into the causes
 ' of such increase, &c.' ' At that time, the mi-
 ' litary charge, which the Company called *insup-*
 ' *portable*, as in truth it was, did not exceed eighty
 ' lacks of current rupees per annum. The estimate
 ' of the same establishment, for the year ending in
 ' April last, amounted to two hundred and four-
 ' teen lacks and an half; and this charge, I con-
 ' clude, has increased in the current year: I am
 ' sure, it cannot have been diminished. I am un-
 ' willing to say any thing of the actual state of the
 ' army, in regard to its effective strength, com-
 ' pared with the establishment, its discipline, or
 ' the punctuality with which the native troops are
 ' paid, because it would be going out of my own
 ' department, and partly because I cannot give
 ' you lights on this subject, from my own direct
 ' knowledge

* knowledge of it : thus far, however, I think it
 * my duty to say, that from my own observation,
 * and from all the information I have been able to
 * collect, I have too much reason to believe, that
 * your army actually wants a strict inspection into
 * its discipline, and a vigorous command over it ;
 * and that this is true, in a degree much beyond
 * what you will be inclined to believe, or what I
 * could make good. The thing, in its nature, is
 * not capable of proof, in England. Your judg-
 * ment, therefore, must be guided and determined
 * by your opinion of the veracity and honour of
 * those whom you consult.'

R E M A R K.

Mr. Francis would certainly have done wisely
 in saying nothing about the army, even on his
 own principles, his extreme ignorance on the sub-
 ject ; but there are other more weighty reasons,
 which having slipped his memory, I shall take the
 liberty to recall them to it.

AT what period did this want of order and dis-
 cipline commence ? Did it exist when General Cla-
 vering arrived in the country ? if so, how came it
 to pass, that that gentleman, during his life, never
 saw the Bengal army ? His military pride would
 not suffer him to let Colonel Monson have the
 command

command of it until he himself should get into the government. Was it of more consequence to the State and to the Company, that he should spend his time at Calcutta, endeavouring, by means shocking to think on, to drive Mr. Hastings out of the government? When have the Bengal army refused to do their duty? Are not their warlike exploits and military prowess, the theme of every man in Europe and in Asia? Has there been a time when they slunk back from the charge, or rather did not court the occasion, to be led up to the noses of thirty times their numbers, arranged in military array, hostile to the English banner? Where were the feelings of the *would-be-patriot* General, when he suffered such a Thing as Mr. Francis to cast such a reflection on the Bengal army? Is this his mode of paying his court to a set of as brave officers as the world ever saw? But they have done with Mr. Francis, and I trust, will no more be in the way to be insulted by the General's insolence of manners: being secured from that, is all they have to ask; their real contempt for such associates will do the rest.

GENERAL Sir Eyre Coote was the immediate successor to General Clavering, appointed by the King and Company, to command the Asiatic troops in general, and the Bengal army in particular. Has that gallant officer made any complaint of the want of spirit, order, or discipline,

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which

which he found in the Company's troops? Has he not, with a mere handful of them, chastised the Cæsar of the East, or rather Parliamentary bugbear, Hyder Ally? But it is not in the nature of a certain order of men, to forgive a political sin. Sir Eyre voted against Mr. Francis in council; and that is a crime of such a dye, as no length of time will wash out. I hope the Bengal officers now in England, will signify their thanks to this Clerk of the War-office, for his opinion of them.

7TH. ' In the report of the Committee of Proprietors, I am sorry to observe, among several other exceptionable articles, that credit is taken for outstanding debts, due to the Company in Bengal, to the amount of 77,22,548 current rupees; and that this sum makes part of the final balance of pounds sterling, supposed to be in favour of the Company, just as much as the money in your treasury, or the value of the goods in your warehouses in London. I beg leave to assure you, that these debts, or the greatest part of them, have stood for years on the Company's books, and are believed, in Bengal, to be desperate. I declare to you, I never heard of a debt of any consequence being recovered by the Company in India. If *these* debts were of a recoverable nature, it is to be presumed, that a considerable, or at least some, part of them, would have been recovered at a time when

when the Governor General and Council, were
 trying every possible expedient to borrow money
 at an high interest : but the fact, on the con-
 trary, from a comparison of the accounts in my
 possession, stands thus :

25th September, 1779, total debts	}	108,21,543
due to the Company, - -		
31st October, 1780, ditto, - -		110,74,218

Increase of debts due to the Com- pany, in those thirteen months,	}	2,52,675

R E M A R K.

Of the outstanding debts, on the desperate situation of which Mr. Francis expresses himself so feelingly, it is no less curious to observe his ignorance, than to remark his malice. Outstanding debts, he says himself, are very seldom recovered in India, and gives an instance to prove, that they increase yearly. Is it possible, that this man can be ignorant, that, in the complicated character in which the Company stand of Lord Paramount, Farmers General, Collectors of the Revenue, Import and Export Merchants, the Military Storekeepers General, all which accounts pass their mercantile books, and must be productive of bad debts; is there any thing new in this? Are they not obliged every year, to write out to their

servants at their several settlements, to write off to profit and loss, such and such desperate debts? Had he been the least conversant in the Company's mercantile affairs, he could not have been ignorant of this fact; and that the servants abroad never do proceed to strike any head off their books, without express orders from home. And since they have been so deeply concerned in the politics of Asia, many millions have sunk that way, and more must be sunk every year; but the observation served to catch the eye of ignorance, and to give alarm, and that was all Mr. Francis meant: Candid disquisition, or honest explanation, he has always been a stranger to.

‘ 8th. Thus far, without descending to minuter
 ‘ objects, I have confined myself to what I believe
 ‘ to be strictly the facts, in stating to you the gene-
 ‘ ral situation of your affairs. My opinion on
 ‘ some of them shall be laid before you, with the
 ‘ same freedom and sincerity.

‘ I FIND, with concern, that a habit begins to
 ‘ prevail in this country, of sending out new corps
 ‘ of Europeans, for the service in India. In my
 ‘ judgment, and in that of all the officers of expe-
 ‘ rience, with whom I have conversed in Bengal,
 ‘ you would find it a much less expensive and a
 ‘ much more effectual method of providing for
 ‘ that branch of your service, if you sent out re-
 ‘ cruits

'cruits sufficient to complete the European regi-
 'ments at the several Presidencies. The dividing
 'those regiments into two battalions each, when
 'the companies could not shew above twenty-
 'three rank and file, was a most ill-advised mea-
 'sure, and produced many bad effects, besides a
 'very great increase of expence. When I left
 'India, they wanted more than half their comple-
 'ment. Your army in Bengal, if the establish-
 'ment be kept complete, is sufficiently numerous ;
 'it does not want field-officers, at least not many ;
 'nor captains, nor subalterns ; in these ranks, I be-
 'lieve, your army is as well supplied, as any service
 'in that country can require : but does it not
 'want two or three general officers, men of ac-
 'tivity, of experience, and of established reputa-
 'tions ? if possible, they should be in the prime
 'of life, and as high in point of personal rank as
 'can be found : under *their* inspections, your esta-
 'blishments will be kept complete, and your
 'troops in general, acquire as much discipline and
 'vigour, as an Indian army is capable of, or as the
 'nature of that service is likely to demand.'

R E M A R K.

HERE we have him again in the field, con-
 fessedly out of his element. Have the officers
 trained up in the Company's service, shewn any
 want of ability, when they had, by rising gra-
 dually

dually, come to the command of the army? Will he be content to abide by the event of every experiment which has yet been tried, and contrast General Clavering, General Monro, General Stuard, Colonel Lesley, and Colonel Egerton, with Lord Clive, General Joe Smith, General Caillaud, General Sir Robert Fletcher, General Sir Robert Barker, and General Thomas Goddard? I drop the General of the Committee, for fear of hurting his modesty, not well knowing in which list he would like best to be placed,

I AM neither civilian nor soldier in the Company's service, but am extremely hurt at observing the temper with which the gentlemen, who fall under those descriptions of Company's servants, bear to be so grossly insulted, in the face of the nation, by such a botch, such a carbuncle, on the vitals of truth, as this quondam clerk of an office, whose soul has been shrivelled up like a winter pippin, and compressed, by the dirty employ of stopping sixpences, into the magnitude of a minikin pin's head.

9th. With respect to your connections or differences with the country powers, I have already told you in what estimation the English name and authority are universally held by those powers. The re-establishment of Peace in India, which, in effect, is no more than reverting

'to your own original principles, is now become
 'indispensably necessary, not only to your prof-
 'perity, or to your safety, but, I say, to your ex-
 'istence. If the present wars are to be continued,
 'you can no more support the consequences of
 'success, than of defeat. No victory in India will
 'ever again pay the expence of the army that
 'gains it. I need not tell you, what effect ano-
 'ther defeat might produce. The disaster which
 'befel Colonel Bailie's detachment, was felt in the
 'most distant parts of our provinces: another
 'event of the same nature, would, as I apprehend,
 'go near to drive all the Seapoys out of your ser-
 'vice. Before the late unfortunate transactions on
 'the two coasts, the reputation of your arms had
 'supported your credit and influence throughout
 'India. But that reputation has been wantonly
 'hazarded and severely wounded; and your cre-
 'dit and influence, have accordingly sunk along
 'with it. Peace then, at all events, must be your
 'object. On this point, I can give you other ex-
 'planations, if they are desired; if not, I shall
 'content myself with saying, that the Indian
 'powers have lost all confidence in the good faith
 'and steadiness of the government of Bengal.'

REMARK.

We know, Mr. Francis, that you have, over and
 over again, told the Company, and the kingdom,

at

at large, many most daring and fallacious stories, of the estimation in which the English name is held by the different powers of Asia; and I wonder that, as you must have taken your account from some interested agent, it has not happened in one single instance, that the man's own interest should operate so as to instruct you in a little truth.

THE disaster which befel the little gallant body of men, under the command of that excellent officer, Colonel Bailie, was brought about by the (what shall I say) great generalship of one of those kind of officers, of which you want to add a few more to the Company's troops. The defeat of the Bombay army happened whilst another of those heroes commanded it; but, perhaps, more immediately by that absurd policy which put the Civilian's coat so improperly on the military shoulders of General Clavering, and sunk poor Camac from an excellent officer, into a field-committee-man. When you say, that the country powers have lost all confidence in the good faith of the government of Bengal, you should, in justice, have told us, that such want of confidence was never known before you and your colleagues arrived at Bengal, and that it was removed as soon as it was known that you had left it. I instance that you have been so unlucky as to risk your whole credit upon the marching of Colonel Pearce's detachment

ment through the dominions of the Rajah of Berar, of whose hostile intentions towards the English, you have told such dismal stories; through the Subah of the Deccan's dominions, and the territories of his brother, with half a dozen other independent Rajahs and Zemindars, all of whom furnished him and his army on their march, with every thing their country produced; which circumstance gives the direct denial to your gloomy predictions of the inimical disposition of the country powers to the English: and the repeated successes of our arms, under Coote, Camac, Goddard, Popham, and several others, are such examples of the recovery of the credit of our military character in Asia, that I wonder the news of it has not induced you to go hang yourself. This preservation of you, I suppose, we owe to the fostering care of the General of the Committee; who, rather than not try the experiment of revenging himself on those whom he deemed his enemies, would embark his small stock of credit in partnership with such an adventurer as Mr. Francis.

PAR. 9. ' You cannot but be thoroughly possessed of my opinion of the injustice and imprudence of all our proceedings with respect to the ' Mahrattas. On this subject you *now* have all the ' evidence before you, that argument *and* reason, ' confirmed by the most ruinous experience, are ' capable

' capable of furnishing. In attempting to support
 ' the pretensions of Ragoba, and the views of the
 ' Presidency of Bombay, you found the *unanimous*
 ' opinion of the Governor General and Council,
 ' that is, of men who seldom agreed in other
 ' points, decidedly against the measure. This was
 ' true, at least, in the year 1775, though a different
 ' system has since prevailed in Bengal. I shall say
 ' nothing of the conduct of Mr. Hastings's nego-
 ' ciation with Moodajee Boosla. You see to what
 ' a state they have reduced us, and in what con-
 ' clusion they have ended. In my judgment, the
 ' principle on which that scheme was professedly
 ' founded, stood in opposition to the obvious dic-
 ' tates of sound policy and common sense. After
 ' the death of Madharow, in 1772, the union of
 ' that great body, which constituted the Mahratta
 ' empire, was dissolved. The principal chiefs set
 ' up for themselves, and no longer acknowledged
 ' any one common superior; or, if they acknow-
 ' ledged the superiority of the infant Paishwah,
 ' it was purely a matter of form. In this state, they
 ' naturally endeavoured to secure their respective
 ' independence, by courting the friendship, or, at
 ' least, by avoiding the enmity, of the English power.
 ' In what sense could it possibly be our interest to re-
 ' store the union of an empire so dissolved, supposing
 ' the attempt practicable, or to vest its united
 ' strength in the hands of a single person? In
 ' the year 1778, they were so divided among
 ' themselves,

‘ themselves, that nothing but our invading their
 ‘ country, with the avowed design of overturning
 ‘ their government, could have made them act
 ‘ together. Such was the plan of Mr. Hastings’s
 ‘ proposed alliance with the Rajah of Berar, as it
 ‘ stands exhibited in his instructions to the late Mr.
 ‘ Elliot, in July 1778, and in many other re-
 ‘ corded documents. The same plan included
 ‘ another object, not less unwise in point of policy,
 ‘ and still more dangerous in the execution than
 ‘ the first : I mean the project of uniting with
 ‘ Moodajee Boosla, to invade the dominions of
 ‘ Nizam Ally Cawn, and to deprive him of a
 ‘ considerable part of his possessions. From this
 ‘ project, which could not be long a secret to the
 ‘ Nizam, the subsequent union, which appears to
 ‘ have been concerted by him, between Hyder
 ‘ Ally, the Mahrattas, Moodajee Boosla, and him-
 ‘ self, took its origin. The invasion and ruin of the
 ‘ Carnatic, sprung from the same source ; and, in
 ‘ conclusion, the Rajah of Berar, for whose ad-
 ‘ vancement the plan is professedly formed, joins
 ‘ in the confederacy against us, and in effect
 ‘ (though not yet avowedly when I left India)
 ‘ becomes one of the most dangerous enemies we
 ‘ have to contend with. If this confederacy should
 ‘ not be strong enough to maintain itself, and to
 ‘ accomplish the designs of the contracting par-
 ‘ ties, whatever they may be, the last resource
 ‘ will unquestionably be, to call in the French
 ‘ to their assistance. I will not trespass, gentle-
 ‘ men,

'men, any longer on your patience. If objec-
 'tions are made to any thing advanced in this
 'paper, I believe I can answer them. If expla-
 'nations are wanted, I am ready to give them.
 'In entering so far as I have done into such a de-
 'tail, it is not my purpose to criminate any man,
 'nor even to condemn measures, merely for the
 'sake of condemning them. Your governments
 'in India, are actually involved in a labyrinth of
 'difficulties; I therefore think it my duty to
 'trace to you the principal steps by which you
 'have been, imperceptibly to yourselves, misled
 'into this labyrinth; because I believe it to be
 'the surest, if not the only method you can take,
 'to find your way out of it.

‘ P. FRANCIS.

REMARK.

I COME now to the last paragraph of this famous
 letter, and I do assure you, Right Honourable Sir,
 that I am very glad of it; for, to labour through
 such a collection of dismal prophecies, un-
 supported assertions, and positive falsehoods, without
 one ray of truth, on which to rest the mind for a
 moment on the way, is, as you well know, no
 easy task. The hotch-potch complexion of this
 take-leave paragraph is so perplexed, from con-
 taining the essence of all the foregoing ones, that
 I shall

I shall limit my remarks on it to a single observation, or, at most, two.

In this part of his letter, Mr. Francis, in some degree, acquits Mr. Hastings, of being the original cause of the Mahratta war. His reasons are obvious enough; because another Committee from your House, having the matter before them, it was more his immediate interest to speak truth than otherwise. But what will he say to his agent, Macintosh, whom he dispatched home the season before he came himself, with frightful accounts of the Mahratta war, Rohillo wars, and cargoes of other falsehoods against the Governor General, all which was issued out of his mint in Piccadilly. If he does not get something done to stop the mouth of that sable, predatory historian, he will most assuredly turn his black goose quill against his master; for he is one of those Swiss-like penmen, who will undertake any cause; and if I had any use for pamphlet-manufacturers, I would certainly buy him over with the other half-crown.

Mr. Francis declares, that he does not wish to criminate any man; all he means is, that, as the Company's affairs have been so twisted and twirled, interwoven and knotted together, in which unlucky situation he both found them, on his arrival in India, and left them when he came away, he

he cannot help offering his service to the Company and to Parliament, to endeavour to set them to rights again. Whether the experience the Company have already had of his services, will induce them to trust their affairs again in his hands, I do not know; or whether you, Sir, and his Majesty's new Ministers, have in contemplation to cram him, with others of his tribe, down the throats of the Company, as your predecessors in office did, you can best tell; but I know that if the present Proprietors of Stock, and Directors of the Company, submit to swallow such a ministerial potion, I much question whether their constitution is now sufficiently strong to get the better of the poisonous effects of it; because no man will expect their great Physician, Governor General Hastings, will prescribe for another seven years together, the necessary antidotes to counteract its pernicious consequences.

I suppose, Sir, by your exhibiting Mr. Francis's productions in the Report of the Committee, that you thought that you had an intelligent, a candid, and an honest man, to deal with, and that you thereby was about to do a public benefit to society. I hope the clear and fair account which I have given you, attended by proofs in almost every page, of his real conduct and character, during his stay in India, and since his arrival in England, will have
weight

weight enough with you to suspend your final judgment, until he has fairly and honestly refuted the assertions and facts in this and my former Letter.

I RETURN, with no small degree of reluctance, to the part you have yourself taken in the compilation of the Report: That you had compiled it from the minutes of the Committee, was one of the points in my former Letter, which I did not press so closely as I should have done, had I then had so good authority for so doing, as I have now. Your Chairman, Sir, has paid you some handsome compliments on the elegance of the performance, and the information you have helped him to; and you, in your turn, rubbed down your honourable Chairman, on his great industry and abilities: This, Sir, with great patriots, is very well; and hungry coffee-house politicians swallow down the condescending complaisance of the two great men, and approve in senators, what, amongst honest tradesmen, such as themselves, they would call the most fulsome flattery. I, Sir, have read both your Reports, over and over again, with an eye to the discovery of truth, however it might be enveloped by eloquence; and I am bold again to declare, in the face of the whole kingdom, that when you penned the reflections and insinuations

quoted

quoted in my former Letter, from page 49 of your last Report, you had not truth for your landmark. Captain Cowe is the only one person, in seven very intelligent and very honourable witnesses, who speaks the least word about its being the opinion of some people, that the execution of the Rajah NUNDCOMAR, was a political measure; nor would his saying to have been admitted an evidence in any other place. The words, Sir, were not his own; they had been put into his mouth by the person who examined him; yet, dreadful to think of, this *no evidence* has induced you to throw out the most severe and cruel aspersions on the characters of his Majesty's Judges, and the Governor General of Bengal. If asserting what I feel to be the truth, shall be construed into Scandalum magnatum, call me, and try me, on the merits: I shall be nothing backward to appear.

I am, Right Honourable Sir,

With all due Respect,

Your most obedient Servant,

The AUTHOR.

BOROUGH, *April* 18, 1782.

POSTSCRIPT.

P O S T S C R I P T.

WHAT a world is this we live in! I can boast some friends; and to those friends I must seriously appeal, to know, if they think that I have an enemy in the world, who has been made so, by any other means than a strong habit of speaking and writing truths, which wound the ear of some notorious culprit, or public speculator; yet these friends write me, in terms rather too harsh for friendship, that, by meddling at all in this business, I have hurt the political interests of Governor Hastings. I never once thought of the Governor: I honour the private virtues of the man; and observing, that scandal had made its way into the Senate House, where his moral character lay stretched on the rack, ready to be offered up, to glut the revenge of men, who hate him for his virtues and his abilities, it broke in upon my rest, and I rushed forward (perhaps, with too little ceremony) to ward the blow, or break its violence; for which, if I am deserted by those I esteem, I say with Pope,

Welcome for thee, fair Virtue, all the past :
For thee, fair Virtue, welcome e'en the last.

T H E E N D.

POSTSCRIPT

What a world is this we live in! I can
 boast some friends, and to those friends I
 seriously appeal to know if they think that I
 have an enemy in the world who has been
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 bit of speaking and writing truths, which wound
 the ear of some numerous classes of public pe-
 culators; yet these enemies were not, in terms
 rather too harsh, I friendship than by a dis-
 tinguish as all in the world; I have here the
 political interests of the world. I have here the
 never once thought of the world, and of course
 the THE WORLD, and of course, and of course,
 that would be a way in the world, and of course,
 those who in the world character has interest
 on the world, and of course, and of course,
 the revenge of man, who have him in his vir-
 tues and his virtues it broke in upon my life,
EDMUND BURKE
 (continues) to wear the blow, or break his vir-
 tues, for which, if I am defeated by those I
 esteem, I lay with hope.



I remain for the time, all the best,
 For the time, welcome to the end.

THE END